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6. John G. Mitchell, "Wilderness—America's Lands Apart," *National Geographic*, November 1998, pp. 2-33. (See pages V.D29-36)
7. Christina Nealson, "In Wilderness, Don't Phone Home," *High Country News*, Vol. 30, No. 15, August 17, 1998. (See page V.D37)
8. Donald Worster, "The Wilderness of History," *Wild Earth*, Fall, 1997, pp. 9-13. (See pages V.D39-42)
9. Roderick Nash, "Wilderness Is All In Your Mind," *Backpacker*, February/March, 1979, pp. 39-41, 70-72. (See pages V.D43-47)
10. Douglas W. Scott, "National Parks and Their Wilderness, A Compilation of Historic Viewpoints," Campaign for America's Wilderness (formerly Pew Wilderness Center), Washington, D.C. (See pages V.D49-60)

46 Percent of Earth is Still Wilderness

By Paul Rogers, *Bay Area Mercury News*, Wednesday, December 4, 2002

Despite population growth, logging and other environmental threats, nearly half the land on Earth remains wilderness—undeveloped and nearly unpopulated, according to a study released today.

The study by 200 international scientists, the most comprehensive analysis ever done on Earth's wild places and population trends, was seen by some experts as a surprising cause for optimism. Biologists also viewed it as a warning, since only 7 percent of the wilderness is protected.

"A lot of the planet is still in pretty decent shape," said Russell Mittermeier, a Harvard primatologist and president of Conservation International, an environmental group in Washington, D.C., that organized the study.

"We should be happy about that, but we should do everything we can to maintain it. A lot of areas, particularly tropical forests, are under the gun."

Using databases, computer maps and satellite photos, the study found that 46 percent of the Earth's land can be classified as wilderness—from the forests of Russia, Canada and Alaska to the Congo, the Amazon, the Sahara and New Guinea.

That area, totaling 68 million square miles—more than 19 times the size of the United States—is home to only 2.4 percent of world population, or 144 million people.

Antarctica and the Arctic tundra make up roughly a third of that wilderness, or 23 million square miles.

To qualify as wilderness, researchers required areas to have fewer than five people per square kilometer, or 247 acres; at least 70 percent of their original vegetation; and a size of least 10,000 square kilometers, about the equivalent of Yellowstone National Park.

The research was done over two years by scientists from such institutions as the World Bank; Cambridge and Harvard universities; Zimbabwe's Biodiversity Foundation for Africa; and the National Amazon Research Institute in Brazil. The results will be published in a 500-page book next year: "Wilderness: Earth's Last Wild Places," by the University of Chicago Press.

The study was bankrolled in part by donations from Intel co-founder Gordon Moore, of Woodside, a major donor to Conservation International.

The developed world should do more to safeguard wilderness, said Thomas Lovejoy, president of the Heinz Center for Science, Economics and the Environment in Washington, D.C.

"There is also an ethical and moral reason," Lovejoy said. "We are all—every amoeba, every person, every rhinoceros—the end point of 4 billion years of evolution. You just don't snuff that out."

Others noted that civilization's footprint is worldwide.

"There's not a square centimeter on Earth that's not affected by humans and what we produce, from chemicals in the atmosphere to global warming," said Peter Raven, director of the Missouri Botanical Garden. "But this is interesting. It makes the point that there are lots of little-affected areas, more than most people might think."

"Untrammeled," "Wilderness Character," and the Challenges of Wilderness Preservation

By Douglas W. Scott, *Wild Earth*, Fall/Winter, 2001-2002, pp. 72-79

"Untrammeled," "Wilderness Character," and the Challenges of Wilderness Preservation

IMPRECISION IN THE MEANING of the word *wilderness* plagued the wilderness movement during its early decades. Efforts to define wilderness in a practical way—usable in land management—began in the 1920s as the first formal wilderness preservation policies were formulated by Aldo Leopold and the Forest Service, and continued in the 1930s, notably in the work of Bob Marshall, the Forest Service, and a New Deal interagency task force. Wilderness Society and Sierra Club leaders and wilderness conference participants struggled with definitional complexities in the 1940s and 1950s. High-level government panels—a Library of Congress study in 1949 and a major federal commission in 1962—also probed these questions.¹

The culmination of all this effort was the Wilderness Act itself. As Howard Zahniser, executive director of The Wilderness Society, drafted the bill in the spring of 1956 that became the Wilderness Act of 1964, he was well aware of the complexities in usage of the word *wilderness* in post-World War II America. He had spelled out the problems in a masterful memorandum submitted to the Library of Congress as a contribution to its 1949 study of wilderness preservation issues:

It is not surprising that the use of the same word "wilderness" both as a description and as a designation should result in some confusion, when it is realized that cultural values have only comparatively recently been placed on the quality of wilderness and that attempts to apply this sense of values to practical land management is much more recent. The terminology of both the philosophy and the land-management technic [sic] is still formative. It is still necessary to be aware of context in using precisely the vocabulary of the movement. It is not yet feasible to insist on limited usage of the term "wilderness," nor is it expedient to restrict one's own use of the word.²

Zahniser himself led the way in resolving this long-standing confusion about the word's definition: it was successful advocacy of the Wilderness Act that finally made it "feasible to insist on limited usage of the term" *wilderness*, because the act established a statutory definition and mandated its use by the four federal agencies that administer wilderness areas.

Designation and stewardship of wilderness

The Wilderness Act definition is an important guide as citizens, agencies, and Congress consider which lands to designate as wilderness. Yet even an act of Congress is not immune

from misinterpretations by federal agencies that can lead to application of the word in ways informed neither by ecology nor by the original intent of the statute itself. Thus, it remains important for wilderness advocates and Congress to step in, as has often been necessary over the 37 years since the enactment of the law, to correct the agencies when they stray into misinterpretations. These misinterpretations—still too often voiced by local spokespeople of the agencies—can mislead the public into believing that the definition sets criteria stricter and more limiting than the act actually allows. As Congress has repeatedly asserted in a long line of precedents, the act's definition accommodates protection for significant expanses of wild land with various histories of past use.³

The definition in the Wilderness Act, correctly understood, also guides the stewardship of wilderness areas once designated. Whatever the differences in the other statutory mandates of the four federal land management agencies, once wilderness areas are designated the overriding mandate in the Wilderness Act is that each shall preserve the "wilderness character" of the areas. This command appears in both the declaration of congressional purpose in subsection 2(a) of the act, and in the management direction in subsection 4(b). In 1983 the Committee on Interior and Insular Affairs⁴ of the House of Representatives reemphasized this mandate, noting that: "The overriding principle guiding management of all wilderness areas, regardless of which agency administers them, is the Wilderness Act (section 4(b)) mandate to preserve their wilderness character."⁵ In issues of wilderness management, too, Congress and wilderness advocates must remain vigilant against misinterpretations that would frustrate the goal of preserving an enduring resource of wilderness.

BUT WHAT IS THE ESSENCE of the wilderness character the agencies "shall" protect? Where in the act do managers look to understand the goal for their stewardship?

The framers of the Wilderness Act intended that the first sentence of subsection 2(c) establish the meaning of "wilderness character":

A wilderness, in contrast with those areas where man and his works dominate the landscape, is hereby recognized as an area where the earth and its community of life are untrammeled by man, where man himself is a visitor who does not remain.⁶

These words animate the act's wilderness concept. Without this definition, the subsection 4(b) mandate to preserve "the wilderness character of the area" would be cast

adrift, left floating without clear and practical meaning on which administrators can base stewardship decisions.

At the heart of this goal for wilderness stewardship is the word *untrammeled*. No other word in the Wilderness Act is as misunderstood, both as to its meaning and its function in the law. The Oxford English Dictionary traces *trammel* to Latin and eleventh-century Old French roots meaning a kind of net used to catch fish or birds. Current dictionary descriptions of the word *untrammeled* include "unrestrained," "unrestricted," "unimpeded," "unencumbered," "unconfined," "unlimited."⁷ At the command of the Wilderness Act, we preserve wilderness character—by definition—by leaving "the earth and its community of life untrammeled by man."

Too often, this word has been misread as *untrampled*, or misinterpreted as some synonymous variation of *untrampled*, with the erroneous connotation that it describes the present physical or ecological condition of the land or its past land-use history. The word was frequently misused in this way in disputes over designation of particular lands as wilderness in the years immediately after the Wilderness Act became law.

In the most blatant case, in the late 1960s, the Forest Service fostered a "purity" concept that distorted the intent of the Wilderness Act, perverted its definition, and threatened—had it become accepted—to circumscribe the extent of lands deemed qualified for designation.

The Forest Service's fundamental misunderstanding—intentional or not—began at the highest levels, exemplified in 1968 Senate testimony of Chief Edward P. Cliff on the proposed Mount Jefferson Wilderness in Oregon. Citizen groups advocated that Congress override the agency's recommendation to exclude Marion Lake and its surroundings, which would have left a deep indentation in the western boundary of the narrow wilderness area. Chief Cliff resisted, pointing to growing public use of the area:

It is not an untrammeled area. It is being heavily trampled, and we need to get in there and provide sanitation facilities, and water and fire grills, and other recreational improvements, to accommodate the use that is already being made there, and to protect the resources of the area.⁸

Contrary to Cliff's statement, an "area" cannot be "trampled" in the sense he sought to convey. The act applies the word *untrammeled* not to an "area" or its present condition, but to "the earth and its community of life," that is, to the forces of Nature. Both the formal legislative history of the Wilderness Act (in the limited sense a judge or legal scholar

would use) and the history of Zahniser's word choices as its draftsman provide clear guidance on the intended meaning of the word *untrammeled* and its function in the act's carefully designed structure. The congressional champions of the act, abetted virtually every step of the way by Zahniser, went to great pains through eight years of hearings, debates, and committee reports to make their intent clear. Looking back, the leading Senate opponent of the act, Senator Gordon Allott (R-CO) confirmed: "...there is not a word in the Wilderness Act which [was] not scanned, perused, studied and discussed by the committee. Perhaps there is no other act that was scanned and perused and discussed as thoroughly as every sentence in the Wilderness Act."⁹

The ideal of wilderness for the future of wilderness

As the draftsman, Zahniser was careful to avoid having the ideal definition of wilderness focus on the present physical or ecological condition of an area of land, or its land-use history. He chose *untrammeled* as the uniquely best word to express a forward-looking perspective about the *future* of land and ecosystems: once designated, wilderness is to be allowed to express its own will—with the forces of Nature untrammeled into the future.¹⁰

This is just how Congress has applied the definition. For example, during the controversy in the early 1970s over whether once-disturbed areas on national forests in the East could be designated under the Wilderness Act definition, then-Senator James L. Buckley (R-NY), a member of the Senate Interior Committee, expressed a view consistent with Zahniser's:

Of course, we begin from the ideal, just as the Wilderness Act does. But, if we are to have a rational system of wilderness areas, as the drafters of the Wilderness Act obviously intended, less than pristine standards would be necessary for practical application. As a basis for public policy I believe it would be a mistake to assume that the Wilderness Act can have no application to once-disturbed areas.¹¹

Zahniser's precision in choosing the word *untrammeled* is well documented. As he worked with congressional staff to refine the Wilderness Bill for reintroduction in 1959, several conservation colleagues urged him to drop the word. One asserted that this word was "hackneyed, relatively meaningless."¹² Another commented that *untrammeled* was a "remnant negative now never used in its positive sense," and that a word in current usage should be substituted—he suggested the word *undisturbed*.¹³

To these entreaties, Zahniser replied that he had chosen the word *untrammeled*, when drafting the bill in the spring of 1956, only after "dissatisfaction with almost every other word that had been suggested," and that he selected it as "a word that fitted our need both as to denotation and connotation."¹⁴ He explained why the word *undisturbed* did not express his intent:

The problem with the word "Disturbed" (that is, "Undisturbed") is that most of these areas can be considered as disturbed by the human usages for which many of them are being preserved; that is, temporarily disturbed. *The idea within the word "Untrammeled" of their not being subjected to human controls and manipulations that hamper the free play of natural forces is the distinctive one that seems to make this word the most suitable one for its purpose within the Wilderness Bill.*¹⁵

A close confidant of Zahniser's on these questions was Harvey Broome, a founder of The Wilderness Society and an attorney. In a 1966 letter, Broome recalled that:

Zahniser and I had this matter up about five years ago when the Forest Service was proposing a heavily [logged-over and] burned-over area in North Carolina as part of the Shining Rock wilderness area. We concluded that under the definition in the Bill, as then drafted, there was no conflict provided roads and mechanical and other uses were prohibited. Congress apparently accepted the same understanding since the Shining Rock Wild Area was incorporated in the wilderness system....¹⁶

Distinguishing the ideal and practical definitions

The context in which *untrammeled* is used in the Wilderness Act is all-important, for it circumscribes how Congress intended the word (and the entire sentence) to function in the structure of the act. The word appears in the first of two sentences in subsection 2(c) of the act. Congress (and Zahniser) intended each sentence to have a distinct definitional purpose—the first states the *ideal* while the second is the more *practical* characterization. Yet, intentionally or not, the Forest Service initially acted as if there were no such distinction.

In its written response to questions raised during the 1967 Senate hearing on the proposed San Rafael Wilderness—the first area added to the wilderness system after enactment of the Wilderness Act—the Forest Service asserted that:

the law describes wilderness, in part, as "...an area where the earth and its community of life are untrammeled by man..." which is "...managed so as to preserve its natural conditions and which (1) generally appears to have been affected primarily by the forces of nature..."¹⁷ [ellipses in original]

Compare this assertion of how the law describes wilderness with the actual words and punctuation of subsection 2(c) of the act and the sleight of hand becomes obvious; they mashed into one the two distinct sentences Congress deliberately separated in order to serve two different functions.

Commenting on the two-part structure of the definitions during the final Senate hearing in 1963, Zahniser noted that:

In this definition the first sentence is definitive of the meaning of the concept of wilderness, its essence, its essential nature—a definition that makes plain the character of lands with which the bill deals, the ideal. The second sentence is descriptive of the areas to which this definition applies—a listing of the specifications of wilderness areas; it sets forth the distinguishing features of areas that have the character of wilderness.... The first sentence defines the character of wilderness, the second describes the characteristics of an area of wilderness.¹⁸

We need not rely solely on Zahniser's expression of intent, for the formal legislative history repeatedly emphasizes Congress's intention to distinguish between two very distinct functions for the two sentences in subsection 2(c).

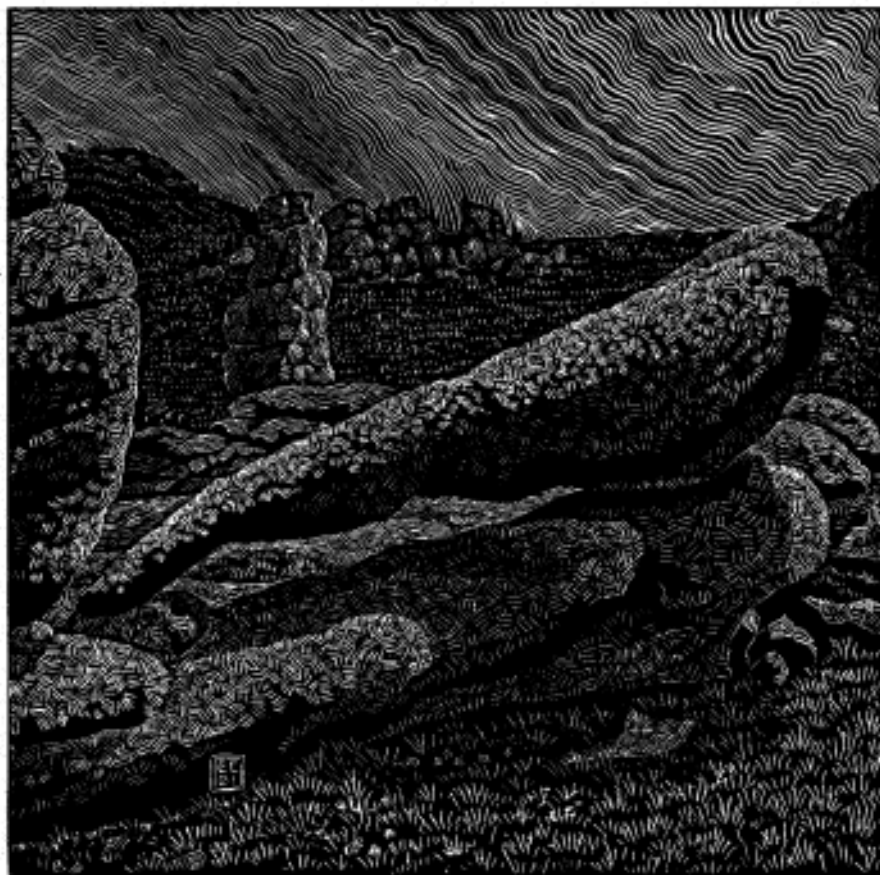
Whatever level of ecological "purity" characterizes portions of an area when it is designated, each is to be managed thenceforth toward the wilderness ideal.

The first of these sentences originated in the Wilderness Bill introduced in the Senate on June 7, 1956.¹⁹ Slight word changes were made elsewhere in that sentence, but the clause embracing the word *untrammeled* did not change over the ensuing eight years. However, changes were made to the structure of the subsection around it, and these further clarified the function Zahniser and the sponsors intended from the outset.

What Congress intended in the definition of wilderness

When he introduced the original Wilderness Bill, Senator Hubert Humphrey (D-MN) included a detailed section-by-section interpretation of the bill in his introductory speech. He stated: "The opening section defines the term 'wilderness' both in the abstract and as used specifically in this bill..."²⁰

In 1960 Senator James Murray (D-MT) reintroduced a refined version of the Wilderness Bill intended "to clarify and revise the measure" on the basis of earlier hearings, agency comments, and committee discussions.²¹ As the new lead sponsor and as chairman of the Senate committee handling the bill, his explanation is the authoritative expression of legislative intent, includ-



ing why he added what became the second sentence in the subsection enacted four years later. Murray explained to the Senate: "The added detail in the definition of wilderness is in response to requests for additional and more concrete details in defining areas of wilderness."²² The new second sentence Murray added was:

An area of wilderness is further defined to mean in this Act an area of undeveloped Federal land without permanent improvements or human habitation which is protected and managed so as to preserve its natural conditions and which (1) generally appears to have been affected primarily by the forces of nature, with the imprint of man's work substantially unnoticeable; (2) has outstanding opportunities for solitude or a rugged, primitive, and unconfined type of outdoor recreation; (3) is of sufficient size as to make practicable its preservation and use in an unimpaired condition, and (4) may also contain ecological, geological, archeological, or other features of scientific, educational, scenic, or historical value.²³

As distinct from the abstract, ideal definition, this second sentence defines what Jay Hughes called "institutional wilderness"—specific areas of land that "society has called 'wilderness' in terms of definitely bounded, named, managed, and legally identifiable tracts of public land."²⁴ The bill's congressional sponsors repeatedly emphasized that the two sentences serve two distinct functions.

In 1961, Senator Clinton P. Anderson (D-NM) succeeded Murray as chairman of the Senate committee and lead sponsor of the Wilderness Bill. In opening hearings that year, he explained his interpretation in a detailed section-by-section analysis:

Section 2(b) contains two definitions of wilderness.²⁵ The first sentence is a definition of pure wilderness areas, where "the earth and its community of life are untrammeled by man...." It states the ideal.

The second sentence defines the meaning or nature of an area of wilderness as used in the proposed act: A substantial area retaining its primeval character, without permanent improvements, which is to be protected and managed so man's works are "substantially unnoticeable."

*The second of these definitions of the term, giving the meaning used in the act, is somewhat less "severe" or "pure" than the first.*²⁶

The Senate passed the Wilderness Bill twice, in 1961 and in the following Congress, in 1963. On both occasions, the formal reports of the Committee on Interior and Insular Affairs²⁷ included a section-by-section analysis, which noted the nature of the two-part definition:

Section 2(b) defines wilderness in two ways: First, in an ideal concept of wilderness areas where the natural community of life is untrammeled by man, who visits but does not remain, and second, as it is to be considered for the purposes of the act: areas where man's work is substantially unnoticeable, where there is outstanding opportunity for solitude or a primitive or unconfined type of recreation, which are of adequate size to make practicable preservation as wilderness, and which may have ecological, geological, or other scientific, educational, scenic, and historical values.²⁸

Representative John P. Saylor (R-PA) was the original sponsor and leading champion of the Wilderness Act in the House of Representatives. He explained the distinction between the two definitional sentences in his analysis as he introduced a refined version of the Wilderness Bill on November 7, 1963:

Section 2(b) defines wilderness in three sentences.²⁹ The first states the nature of wilderness in an ideal concept of areas where the natural community of life is untrammeled by man, who visits but does not remain. The second sentence describes an area of wilderness as it is to be considered for the purposes of the act—areas where man's works are substantially unnoticeable....³⁰

AS TRACED HERE, every one of the lead sponsors of the Wilderness Act explicitly intended the first sentence of subsection 2(c) to express the "abstract" (Humphrey) or "ideal" (Anderson, Saylor), distinct from the "more concrete details in defining areas of wilderness" (Murray) which are spelled out in the second sentence.

As Zahniser had noted in 1949, it was important to recognize that the same word "wilderness" is used both as a description and as a designation. The two-part definition in the Wilderness Act follows that distinction. Of course, the distinction between an ideal definition and a less-than-ideal set of details for practical implementation was and is common.³¹

The non-degradation principle in wilderness stewardship

Given the precise word choices and the care taken in structuring the two-sentence definition in the Wilderness Act, it is beyond dispute that:

- Designation questions of whether a specific area of land meets the definition of wilderness in the act are *not* about whether that land is "untrammeled" (or untrampled). The word *untrammeled*, which applies once an area is des-

ignated, appears only in the "pure," "ideal" definition that serves a quite different function in the act. For its part, the Forest Service correctly defines untrammeled in the current version of the Forest Service Manual.³²

- The *only* criteria for designation of an area is the "somewhat less 'severe' or 'pure'" (Anderson) defining details set forth in the second, non-ideal definition "for the purposes of the act." A number of very clear qualifiers—"generally appears to have been affected *primarily* by the forces of nature, with the imprint of man's work *substantially* unnoticeable"—provide practical, workable criteria for entry of areas into the National Wilderness Preservation System. This is how Congress intended and has consistently applied the Wilderness Act, and it is how a federal judge read it as well, in one of the few cases where these issues arose.³³
- The ideal definition has an equally important, but different function; it is not mere congressional poetry, for the canons of statutory interpretation forbid such an interpretation.³⁴ The function of this sentence—with its careful use of the word *untrammeled*—is to define the "ideal" (Anderson), the "essence" (Zahniser) of the wilderness character it is the duty of conservationists and land managers to protect.

There is a supreme logic to this careful structure of the two definitions. Applying the practical criteria of the second sentence in subsection 2(c), the 1964 act itself designated numerous areas with a fading history of the "imprint of man's work," and many others have been designated in subsequent acts of Congress. But, however less-than-pure such areas may have been when designated, once designated, the command of the act is to preserve the "wilderness character" of each area, restraining human influences in order that the earth and its community of life are untrammeled by man.

This is, at its heart, a non-degradation principle. Just as the non-degradation principle in the Clean Air Act does not allow polluting purer air down to minimum-level, health-based air quality standards, but requires that areas of pristine air quality be protected, so the acceptance of past human imprints and disturbances in some lands being designated as wilderness does not mean such imprints and disturbances may therefore be allowed to invade other, wilder wilderness lands already designated.³⁵ Whatever level of ecological "purity" characterizes portions of an area when it is designated, each is to be managed thenceforth toward the wilderness ideal.

Zahniser was adamant that "management" of the ecosystem in each wilderness area should occur almost entirely by restraint on human influences from its boundaries, rather than by manipulation within. He gave us his admonition about wilderness management in the epigrammatic title he chose for an editorial in *The Living Wilderness* in 1963: "Guardians Not Gardeners." The guardian philosophy, he wrote, is one of "protecting areas at their boundaries and trying to let natural forces operate within the wilderness untrammeled by man."³⁶ A federal judge, writing in 1975, echoed Zahniser's analogy: "Nature may not always be as beautiful as a garden but producing gardens is not the aim of the Wilderness Act."³⁷

By stating the ideal of "pure wilderness," its "essential nature," Zahniser's ringing first sentence of subsection 2(c) breathes ecological life into the phrase "wilderness character." He and the Congress thus set the goal toward which our stewardship of wilderness areas is to strive: To free Nature within these special places, as best we can, from the fetters and trammels of man's influence, so that wilderness may be—through our own self-restraint—areas "where the earth and its community of life are untrammeled by man." €

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NOTES

1. The broad history of this evolution in wilderness concepts and policy is traced in my recent Pew Wilderness Center Briefing Paper: Douglas W. Scott, 2001, *A wilderness-forever future: A short history of the National Wilderness Preservation System* (Washington, D.C.), which is available at www.pewwildernesscenter.org. See also: Aldo Leopold, 1921, The wilderness and its place in forest recreational policy, *Journal of Forestry* 19(7): 720; Robert Marshall, 1930, The problem of the wilderness, *The Scientific Monthly* (February): 148; Marshall (undated), Preliminary statement on terminology, suggested definitions of outdoor recreational areas, attached to Minutes of the Second Meeting of Recreation Committee, February 11, 1936, Natural Resources Committee, copy in author's files; C. Frank Keyser, 1949, The preservation of wilderness areas: An analysis of opinion on the problem, Subcommittee on Wildlife and Fisheries Conservation, Committee on Merchant Marine and Fisheries, U.S. House of Representatives, Committee Print 19, August 24; and Wildland Research Center, 1962, *Wilderness and recreation: A report on resources, values, and problems*, a report to the Outdoor Recreation Resources Review Commission (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office): esp. 25–26.
2. Zahniser, 1949, A statement on wilderness preservation in reply to a questionnaire, March 1. Reprinted in *National Wilderness Preservation Act* hearings before the Senate Committee on Interior and Insular Affairs (85th Congress, 1st session) on S. 1176, Washington, D.C., June 19 and 20,

- 1957: 169. Zahniser returned to this point during discussions at the Sierra Club's 2nd Biennial Wilderness Conference in 1951: "Howard Zahniser thought the use of the same word, 'wilderness,' for both recreational and land-management problems (which are not the same) must be confusing; but even if we are not yet ready to restrict ourselves with too strict a definition, we must not lose sight of the necessity of preserving primeval environment, freedom from mechanization, a sense of remoteness, and those characteristics that impress visitors with their relationship to nature." Sierra Club, 1964, *Summaries of the "Proceedings of the First Five Biennial Wilderness Conferences,"* in *Wildlands in our Civilization* (San Francisco: Sierra Club), 144.
3. The legislative history and precedents relating to designation criteria for wilderness are reviewed in my article, 2001, Congress's practical criteria for designating wilderness, *Wild Earth* 11(1): 28–32. A series of Pew Wilderness Center Briefing Papers provides detail on legislative history and precedents for many topics involved in wilderness designation and management; see www.pewwildernesscenter.org. I welcome inquiries about issues and precedents not yet covered in this series, as well as suggestions of precedents I may have missed.
 4. Now renamed the Committee on Resources.
 5. U.S. House, 1983, *California Wilderness Act of 1983*, H. Rept. 98–40 (98th Congress, 1st session), March 18: 43.
 6. Wilderness Act, 1964, U.S. Code Vol. 16, sec. 1132(c).
 7. Webster's 1913 unabridged dictionary defines *untrammelled* as "Not hampered or impeded; free." The transitive verb form derives from the noun antonym, "trammel." The online dictionary Wordsmyth provides considerable additional detail. Here is a condensation of the full Wordsmyth entry found at www.wordsmyth.net:
TRAMMEL PART OF SPEECH NOUN Definition 1. (usu. pl.) a restraint or impediment to free movement. Definition 2. a restraint used on a horse's feet to teach it to amble; fetter. Definition 3. a device used to gauge and adjust the alignment of machinery parts; tram. Definition 4. a net for catching fish or wild birds.
PART OF SPEECH TRANSITIVE VERB Inflected Forms *trammelled, trammeling, trammels*. Definition 1. to impede, restrict, or confine; hobble. Definition 2. to ensnare with, or as if with, a net. Related Words *enumber, enthrall, confine, circumscribe, shackle, enslave, limit*.
 8. Statement of Edward P. Cliff, 1968, Chief, Forest Service, San Gabriel, Washakie, and Mount Jefferson Wilderness Areas, hearing before the Senate Subcommittee on Public Lands, Committee on Interior and Insular Affairs (90th Congress, 2d session) on S. 2751, February 19: 11. Congress did designate Marion Lake as part of the wilderness established in 1968.
 9. U.S. Senate, 1972, Committee on Interior and Insular Affairs, hearings on designation of wilderness areas, S. 2453 and related wilderness bills (92nd Congress, 2d session) May 5: 64.
 10. A contrary view was expressed eight years after the enactment of the Wilderness Act by one of Zahniser's coworkers on the Wilderness Bill, Joe Penfold, conservation director of the Isaac Walton League of America: "A crucial point is that every effort made by conservationists in the half century leading to the Wilderness Act was premised on obtaining recognition and acceptance of wilderness as a natural ecosystem, untrammelled by man in the past and permitted to continue untrammelled and undisturbed by man's activities in the future." J. W. Penfold, 1972, Wilderness east—A dilemma, *American Forests* 78(4): 24 (emphasis in the original). This idea of statutory wilderness being limited to natural ecosystems "untrammelled by man in the past" was not, contrary to Penfold's after-the-fact assertion, ever used by Zahniser, who disclaimed exactly that idea, as documented here.
 11. *Congressional Record*, 1973, January 11: 757. Buckley is now a senior judge on the Federal Court of Appeals for the D.C. Circuit. The history of the eastern wilderness controversy is told by James Morton Turner, 2001, Wilderness east: Reclaiming history, *Wild Earth* 11(1): 19–27.
 12. C. Edward (Ned) Graves, 1959, letter to Howard Zahniser, February 13, quoting Philip Hyde. Wilderness Society files and author's files.
 13. Weldon F. Heald, 1959, letter to C. Edward Graves, February 12. Wilderness Society files and author's files.
 14. Howard Zahniser, 1959, letter to C. Edwards Graves, April 25. Wilderness Society files and author's files.
 15. Howard Zahniser, 1959, letter to C. Edwards Graves, April 25 (emphasis added).
 16. Harvey Broome, 1966, letter to Robert W. Jaspersen, September 10. Papers of The Wilderness Society, 7: 173 (Tennessee: Great Smoky Mountains National Park), Denver Public Library. I am grateful to James Morton Turner who found this correspondence and called it to my attention. It supplements the history of Broome's role in on-the-ground assessing of the qualification of the Shining Rock Wilderness provided in my article, 2001, Congress's practical criteria for designating wilderness, *Wild Earth* 11(1): 28–32.
 17. Unsigned letter, 1967, from the Forest Service to Hon. Frank Church, April 26, reprinted in *San Rafael Wilderness*, hearings before the Senate Subcommittee on Public Lands, Committee on Interior and Insular Affairs (90th Congress, 1st session) on S. 889, April 11: 81.
 18. Howard Zahniser, 1963, Executive Director of the Wilderness Society, supplementary statement in *National Wilderness Preservation Act*, hearings before the Committee on Interior and Insular Affairs, United States Senate (88th Congress, 1st session), on S. 4, February 28 and March 1: 68 (emphasis added).
 19. U.S. Senate, 1956, Subsection 1(c) of S. 4013, 84th Congress, 2nd Session.
 20. Sen. Hubert Humphrey, 1956, Wilderness preservation, *Congressional Record*, June 7. The cited version is from page four of a booklet reprint of Senator Humphrey's speech and the text of the bill, which was printed for widespread distribution by Humphrey and The Wilderness Society.
 21. Sen. James Murray, 1960, *Congressional Record*, July 2: 14453.
 22. Murray, 1960, 14454.
 23. This is the second sentence of subsection 1(d) of Murray's bill, S. 3809; it became subsection 2(c) of the final act. This wording was somewhat modified between 1960 and enactment of the act in 1964, but not in any material way. *Congressional Record*, 1960, July 2: 14455.
 24. Jay Melvin Hughes, 1964, Abstract of wilderness land allocation in a multiple use forest management framework in the Pacific Northwest, unpublished Ph.D. dissertation (East Lansing: Michigan State University), quoted in Ronald Lee Stewart, 1968, The Wilderness Preservation Act, unpublished master's thesis (Eastern New Mexico University): 48.
 25. This became subsection 2(c) of the act.
 26. Sen. Clinton P. Anderson, 1961, in *Wilderness Act*, hearing before the Senate Committee on Interior and Insular Affairs (87th Congress, 1st session) on S. 174, February 27–28: 2, emphasis added.
 27. Now renamed Committee on Energy and Natural Resources.
 28. U.S. Senate, 1963, S. Rept. No. 88–109, April 3: 7–8. Subsection 2(h) referred to here became subsection 2(c) in the act.
 29. This subsection, which became 2(c) of the act, ended up comprised of only two sentences.
 30. Rep. John P. Saylor, 1963, *Congressional Record*, November 7: 20354. Saylor's remarks came as he introduced H.R. 9070, the version of the Wilderness Bill that became the vehicle for House passage of the act the following summer.
 31. For example, "all men are created equal," says the ideal in our Declaration of Independence, leaving the less-than-ideal details—no equality for women, no equality for slaves—to our pre-amendment U.S. Constitution.
 32. The Forest Service Manual provisions on wilderness management define *untrammelled*: "In the context of the Wilderness Act, an untrammelled area is where human influence does not impede the free play of natural forces or interfere with natural processes in the ecosystem." Forest Service Manual 2320.5(2). For this and the entire manual chapter concerning wilderness management, see www.wilderness.net/nwps/policy/fs_manual_policy.cfm.
 33. *Parker v. United States*, 1970, 309 F.Supp. 593, U.S. District Court for the District of Colorado, Memorandum Opinion and Order, February 27. This is the "East Meadow Creek" decision that assured protection of roadless lands contiguous to national forest "primitive areas" until Congress completed the review of each of those areas as required by the Wilderness Act.
 34. "It is, of course, a cardinal rule of statutory construction that effect should be given to every provision of a statute." Court of Appeals for the 10th Circuit, 448 F.2d 797.
 35. The "prevention of significant deterioration of air quality" (PSD) provisions of the Clean Air Act prevent clean air areas from being polluted to the worst levels allowed by the health-based National Ambient Air Quality Standards. U.S. Code, Vol. 42, secs. 7470–7492 (Part C, Title II).
 36. Howard Zahniser, 1963, *Guardians Not Gardeners*, *The Living Wilderness* 83: 2.
 37. *Minnesota Public Interest Research Group v. Butz*, 1975, 401 F.Supp. 1276, esp. 1331, U.S. District Court for the District of Minnesota, Memorandum and Order, August 13. This is one of several court opinions concerning logging in the Boundary Waters Canoe Area.

For the Permanent Good of the Whole People

By Ed Zahniser, Ninth Annual Wilderness Rangers Training Workshop Address, Aspen, Colorado, May 2001

The history of the passage of the 1964 Wilderness Act is commonly taken to be an eight-year legislative struggle. The first Wilderness Bills were introduced in Congress in 1956, in the House of Representatives by John P. Saylor of Pennsylvania and in the Senate by Hubert H. Humphrey of Minnesota. The Wilderness Act was signed into law by President Lyndon B. Johnson on September 3, 1964. My mother, Alice Zahniser, who also will speak to you this afternoon, stood at the White House for the signing, and President Johnson gave her a pen he used. All I ever got from President Johnson was a letter telling me to appear for induction into the U.S. Army.

What I would like to offer you is not an eight-year legislative history, but a deeper glimpse of Wilderness Act history. I would like to offer you a few touchstones of the history of the American wilderness imagination. I want to do this because I believe that, as a wilderness ranger in 2001, you have actually been imagined onto the land. You have been projected onto the land by the wilderness imagination of a great cloud of witnesses that has come before you. You have been projected into the wilderness by the imagination of a great cloud of witnesses that not only has come before you, but, I believe, also goes before you as you allow the wilderness to accept you into itself this summer. This is why I feel so honored to be here with you. Yours is a journey this summer most rare in our culture.

The history of the realization of a Wilderness Act is really a 100-year struggle, from 1864 to 1964. Two events in 1864 begin a history of the Wilderness Act. The first event is President Abraham Lincoln's taking time away from the prosecution of the Civil War to sign an act ceding certain federal public domain lands of Yosemite Valley and the Mariposa Grove of Big Trees—Giant Sequoia trees—to the state of California as public parklands.

The other event is the publication of George Perkins Marsh's book Man and Nature. This is the book that historian and planner Lewis Mumford, in the mid-20th century, deemed the fountainhead of the American conservation movement. The subtitle to Marsh's book is "The Earth as Modified by Human Action." The Earth as Modified by Human Action. The verb form of that word, to modify, makes it into the opening paragraphs of the Wilderness Act. This was no accident. My father, Howard Zahniser, the chief architect of the 1964 Wilderness Act, was a keen student of the beginnings of American concern for wilderness. Zahnise, as he was known by friends and associates, knew to begin at the beginning, and we should too.

What the Vermont-born George Perkins Marsh achieved in his great work Man and Nature was a historical synthesis of global assaults on forests by humankind. The book is still in print today. It has never been out of print. It went through something like seven printings by about 1873. Marsh wrote it in Italy, where President Lincoln had posted him as a diplomat. Marsh had witnessed the destruction of Vermont's forests in his own lifetime. But it was Marsh's travels in the Mediterranean Basin that enabled him, gradually, to see the potential disaster in America's wanton destruction of our forests. But Marsh's awakening was not instant insight. It was gradual.

In 1856, Marsh and his wife had traveled in North Africa, on the southern side of the Mediterranean Basin. Marsh had been sent to North Africa by Jefferson Davis, who was U.S. Secretary of War then. Ironically, as Marsh was writing Man and Nature, Jefferson Davis was president of the Confederate States of America.

Jefferson Davis had asked Marsh to study the camel, which the U.S. Army was interested in using to fight American Indians in the Southwest. In North Africa, Marsh realized that many desert areas he and his wife traversed had once been the sites of great civilizations founded on great forests that harbored elephants, not camels.

But it did not hit Marsh full-face just then. In fact, Marsh's 1856 book, The Camel, opens with the prevailing notion of that time, which was that humans were not capable of significant impacts on God's creation. But then Marsh was posted to Italy by Abraham Lincoln. His travels there convinced him that the formerly great civilizations of the northern Mediterranean Basin, such as Greece, had also declined when their forests were cut down,

just as Marsh had witnessed the forests of his home state of Vermont devastated. So, the subtitle of Marsh's 1864 book Man and Nature, "The Earth as Modified by Human Action," was both actually and metaphorically a watershed event for Marsh's thinking. Forests were keepers of watersheds.

The text of the Wilderness Act begins: "An Act / To establish a National Wilderness Preservation System for the permanent good of the whole people, and for other purposes. Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled." And the text quickly moves to the statement of policy, Section 2 (a) "In order to assure that an increasing population, accompanied by expanding settlement and growing mechanization, does not occupy and modify all areas within the United States and its possessions, leaving no lands designated for preservation and protection in their natural condition, it is hereby declared to be the policy of the Congress to secure for the American people of present and future generations the benefits of an enduring resource of wilderness."

Hear those phrases "does not occupy and modify all areas . . . leaving no lands designated for preservation and protection in their natural condition . . . ?"

In its broadest sweep, the Wilderness Act is a statement of social ethics. It is about restraint and humility. It is about heeding this warning about forest values George Perkins Marsh articulated 100 years earlier, in 1864. The Wilderness Act is about restraint and humility for what we do not know about the land organism . . . about which Aldo Leopold wrote, as I'm sure Buddy Huffaker of the Aldo Leopold Foundation will share with us this week. Restraint and humility for what we do not know about the land organism.

As acid rain, acidic deposition, has forced us to understand soil relationships, we find in soils the same spiraling downward of complexity that the Hubble space telescope finds spiraling outward as the complexity of the universe or multiverse. Tachyons, which may be the same as neutrinos, for example, have a mass that is imaginary. Isn't that luscious science?

And what about these opening lines? "An Act / To establish a National Wilderness Preservation System for the permanent good of the whole people . . ." For the permanent good of the whole people.

I commend to your repeated close reading the text of the Wilderness Act. It makes its own best case for the wilderness stewardship and education entrusted to you on the land this summer.

I have belabored this conservation history and the work of George Perkins Marsh—this 100-year history of the realization of a Wilderness Act—to show that wilderness preservation was not a new idea in the 1950s. Wilderness preservation as a vision for the future of federal public lands has been around a long time.

Directly across Lake Champlain from the Vermont of George Perkins Marsh, the Adirondack Mountains region of New York State testifies to Americans' long-standing concern for wildlands. In 1872, the people of New York State began to move to create an Adirondack State Park. Their motivation is not difficult to discern. In 1871, New Yorkers suddenly found themselves net importers of wood fiber for the first time ever. Heeding Marsh's warnings in Man and Nature, New Yorkers, in 1872, moved to protect their remaining forests. New Yorkers, in 1872, moved to protect the watershed that supplied the Erie Canal with water.

Then, in 1885, New Yorkers created, on the state-owned lands of the Adirondack and Catskill state parks, the State Forest Preserve lands. And then, in 1894, New Yorkers inserted into their state Constitution the so-called "forever wild" clause. The clause says that those forest preserve lands will be kept "forever as wild forest lands."

One voting member of that 1894 Constitutional Convention was a lawyer, Louis Marshall. Louis Marshall was a great champion of Jewish civil liberties, immigrant rights, and the rights of all minorities. And Louis Marshall led the floor fight at the 1915 New York State Constitutional Convention that stopped a move to gut the "forever wild" clause. In wilderness preservation history, Louis Marshall is also known as the father of Robert Marshall, the indefatigable Bob Marshall who was to labor within the U.S. Forest Service to protect forest wilderness. We are most fortunate to have Bob Marshall's nephew Roger Marshall here this week. Roger's father George Marshall was the very first person to whom my father Howard Zahniser sent the very first draft of a Wilderness Bill.

So, your agency's own Bob Marshall, who would also organize The Wilderness Society, was a second-generation wilderness advocate. Wilderness preservation has been around a long time. The roots of Wilderness Act history go deep.

I expect that my mother, Alice Zahniser, will tell you how much the Adirondacks influenced my father and our family. She will begin her annual summer stay there in July. And Bob Marshall and his parents and siblings cut their wilderness eyeteeth in the Adirondacks.

The Adirondacks and Catskills still preserve, in their "forever wild" lands of the state forest preserve, the wildlands-protection impetus that led to the creation of Forest Reserves on the federal public domain lands. However, the Forest Reserves, which were true reserves, in which logging, mining, grazing, and homesteading were prohibited, were subsequently redesignated as national forests open to logging, mining, and grazing.

So New Yorkers, in a sense, were able to make stick, in their own backyard, a wildlands preservation impulse that conservationists like John Muir and Robert Underwood Johnson could not make stick on the federal public lands. In an address to members of the New York State legislature in the 1950s, my father called the Adirondack and Catskill forest preserve "Where Wilderness Preservation Began."

I hope you will tuck this bit of Wilderness Act history into your mental backpack for your all-important wilderness rangering work this summer. The Wilderness Act is for the permanent good of the whole people. Isn't that wonderful? That's the Congress of the United States speaking. The House vote on the Wilderness Act was 373 to 1. The lone dissenting vote was cast by a member from Texas.

I mentioned that the Wilderness Act is an ethical statement about our human relations with what Aldo Leopold called the land organism. In fact, wilderness has a long, long tradition in Judeo Christian thought, of being prophetic of human culture. By "prophetic," I do not mean predicting the future. Prophetic, rather, means a calling back to fundamental, right relationships. Wilderness has been the location for calling people back to right relationship both with the rest of the human community and with God. The wilderness sojourn of the Hebrew people fleeing 400 years of slavery in Egypt under the Pharaoh is reported in the Hebrew Scriptures' Book of Exodus.

Biblical scholar Walter Brueggemann says that the wilderness experience of the Hebrew people, as codified in their scriptures, furnished the building blocks of their national identity. The wilderness experience gave them their laws. The wilderness experience gave them the name of God. Other scholars echo Brueggemann's assessment. As the Biblical scholar Ulrich Mauser reads the New Testament Gospel of Mark, the ministry of Jesus embodies a new Exodus wilderness experience. In Mauser's reading of Mark's Gospel, Jesus of Nazareth works out highlights of his ministry in the wilderness, atop mountains, or on or by the sea.

In the language of modern psychology, Jesus works out highlights of his ministry in these natural settings known to produce the diminutive effect. These are wild settings that, like Gothic cathedrals, put us in spatial perspectives that impress on us our proper scale in the universal scheme of things.

Wilderness experience calls us back to what my father described as a sense of dependence and interdependence as well as independence. Wilderness experience calls us back to a right relationship with what my father called the whole community of life on earth that derives its existence from the sun. Wilderness experience calls us back to the realization that, as my father wrote, we prosper only as the whole community of life prospers.

Novelist Andrew Lytle writes that prophets do not come from the city promising riches and wearing store-bought clothes. No, prophets have always come from the wilderness, stinking of goats . . . and telling of a different sort of treasure. Wendell Berry writes that "If change is to come, it will come from the margins. . . . It was the desert, not the temple, that gave us the prophets." And in much original Hebrew scripture the words for desert and wilderness are the same word.

This prophetic role of wilderness experience — how wilderness calls us back to right relationship, to right living, to social justice — this prophetic role of wilderness also figures strongly in the history of the Wilderness Act.

To begin at the beginning of this important aspect of Wilderness Act history, we must step back, as my father did, we must step back before George Perkins Marsh and 1864, back to the 1830s, back to the era of the Transcendentalist reformers. We must step back to the Transcendentalists Margaret Sarah Fuller, Ralph Waldo Emerson, and Henry David Thoreau.

Zahnle was a lifelong student of Emerson and Thoreau. He served a one-year honorary term as president of the Thoreau Society from 1956 to 1957. One of my father's public school teachers had her students memorize an Emerson quotation every week. My father's interest eventually shifted more to Thoreau, who has since perhaps eclipsed his friend and mentor Emerson in the popular imagination. It was of course Thoreau who, in his 1862 essay on "Walking," inscribed the Zen koan-like rallying cry of conservation that "... in Wildness is the preservation of the World."

In his book of American scripture, Walden, in his posthumous books Cape Cod and The Maine Woods, and in his millionous well-polished words of Journals, Thoreau meditates—as perhaps no one else has—on the utter necessity of wildness. Thoreau's essay "Walking" actually combines two lyceum lectures he gave in the 1850s, one titled "The Wild," and one "Walking." Both lectures were drawn from Thoreau's journals.

And isn't it intriguing how Thoreau does not say we preserve wildness. He says wildness preserves the world? And for Thoreau, who read French, German, Latin, and Greek, this word world is actually the Greek word kosmos, meaning not only world but also beauty, pattern, order ... in Wildness is the preservation of the World, Beauty, Pattern, Order.

Until the recent resurgence in women's studies, Margaret Sarah Fuller was far less known than Emerson and Thoreau. But many now credit Fuller as the greatest of Transcendentalist thinkers. (She was the great aunt, by the way, of R. Buckminster "Bucky" Fuller.) Many consider Margaret Fuller's book Woman in the Nineteenth Century to be, still, the best statement on that subject. She edited the Transcendentalist magazine The Dial. She was the first female book reviewer for a New York newspaper, and she was a thoroughgoing reformer. Fuller even went to Europe to take part in the Italian revolution. She died tragically, early, in a shipwreck just off the U.S. east coast on her way back to America. Emerson asked Thoreau to go search for her body and personal effects. None were found.

Margaret Fuller is important to our Wilderness Act history because her reformist agenda in the 1840s has an uncanny, almost one-to-one correspondence with the legislative agenda of Hubert H. Humphrey in the 1950s. Fuller advocated American Indian rights, ending slavery, women's suffrage, women's rights, education reform, rehabilitation of women prisoners, and more. Her Transcendentalist reform agenda and Senator Humphrey's legislative agenda, of which the Wilderness Act was one important element, show that wilderness is not at the periphery of society. Wilderness is a core concern of a truly whole society, holistically seen.

Fuller's and Humphrey's similar agendas round out the truth of Thoreau's assertion that "... in wildness is the preservation of the World." The Wilderness Act was part of a large legislative package backed by Senator Humphrey that included the National Defense Education Loan Act, Voting Rights Act, and the landmark Civil Rights Act. Wilderness and wildness are not at the periphery of a truly great society. They are at its core.

It is also not well known that Bob Marshall not only fought for access to wilderness as a minority right. Bob Marshall also fought for a fair shake for labor and other social justice issues. On Marshall's death in 1939, one-third of his estate effectively endowed the Wilderness Society but two-thirds went to advocate labor and other social justice issues.

So you see the truth of that declaration at the opening of the Wilderness Act, that the Wilderness Act is construed by Congress to be "for the permanent good of the whole people. . ." by a House vote of 373 to 1.

In fact, Howard Zahniser was propelled from a secure job with the federal government into full-time work for wilderness in part by his grave disillusionment over the use of atomic bombs on Japan. If atomic bombs were the culmination of industrial technology, surely we must find a way to relearn the great lesson of our kinship with all life. Surely, we must find some better way to express our true role in the whole community of life on Earth that derives its existence from the Sun.

Wilderness and wildness are integral to what Wendell Berry calls the circumference of mystery. Wilderness and wildness are integral to what Denise Levertov calls the Great Web. Wilderness and wildness are integral to what the Reverend Dr. Martin Luther King Jr. calls our inescapable network of mutuality. Wilderness and wildness are integral to what God describes to Job as the “circle on the face of the deep.” Wilderness and wildness are integral to the biosphere, to that circle of life, which is also this circle of life, our circle of life. Life.

The prophetic call of wilderness is not to escape the world. The prophetic call of wilderness is to encounter the world’s essence, the Earth’s immortal genius, the planetary intelligence. Wilderness calls us to renewed kinship with all of life. We humans will extend ethical regard to the whole community of life on Earth only as we feel that we are a part of that community. In Aldo Leopold’s words, we will enlarge the boundaries of the community, we will live out a land ethic, only as we feel that we are part of that community. By securing a national policy of restraint and humility toward natural conditions and wilderness character, the Wilderness Act has taken us one hugely significant sociopolitical step toward instituting a land ethic, toward enlarging, in humility, the boundaries of the community.

Ralph Swain brought us all together here on purpose—Buddy Huffaker for the Leopold family, Bill Carhart, Roger Marshall, Alice Zahniser. We who are blood family of the American wilderness imagination can glory in seeing the baton pass to you in the very wilderness itself. And you who now go forth as rangers in the larger wilderness family, you can grasp, in a very physical sense, how spiritually connected you are to this great cloud of witnesses that is the American wilderness imagination. You are now this legacy. And so I challenge you this week; I challenge you this summer: Go forth. Go forth into the wilderness. Do good. Tell the stories. And bring back a different sort of treasure . . . for the permanent good of the whole people.

How the Wilderness Was One

By Stewart L. Udall, *American Heritage*, February/March 2000, pp. 98-105

One of this century's profound cultural transformations began in the 1960s, when ecological thought took hold and fostered a new seriousness toward earth stewardship. But what happened then was really a transition. Present day environmentalism represents an elaboration of core ideas developed far earlier by American conservationists, especially the seminal concepts and plans of the two Presidents Roosevelt and their allies. They prepared the way so that Americans later confronted by increasing threats to earth's ecosystems could erect a sophisticated superstructure on ramparts already standing.

Movements that foster ideas that shape the fabric of American thought usually evolve in reaction to abuses that constrict the lives of citizens or threaten the nation's future. The conservation movement came into existence in the first years of this century in response to the unprecedented plunder of public resources in the last three decades of the nineteenth century.

In the forefront of that pageant of destruction and waste was a rapacious lumber industry. Having begun in Maine and swept westward to California's towering groves of redwood trees, the newly mechanized industry clear-cut the bulk of this country's long-leaf pine forests and left blackened wastelands in its wake.

Elsewhere, as the killing power of rifles increased, whole species were slaughtered on a scale the world had never seen. That decimation came to a climax on the Great Plains, where in the space of little more than a decade the vast herds of buffalo—the wildlife wonder of the continent—were nearly exterminated by “market hunters.” In other regions hunters who worked for commercial enterprises conducted relentless raids on edible birds, on fur seals, and on shore and migratory birds whose feathers were in demand. These endless hunts and those conducted for sport exterminated several species of bird and drove kingfishers, terns, eagles, pelicans, egrets, and herons to the brink of extinction.

The slaughters evoked angry protests from some Americans. In 1877 Secretary of the Interior Carl Schurz tried to start a campaign to halt the unfettered felling of the nation's timberlands. A German emigrant familiar with forestry practices of his homeland, Schurz issued a report in which he denounced lumbermen who were “not merely stealing trees, but whole forests.” But his plans to initiate scientific management of the nation's resources were thwarted by Congress, and two decades would pass before growing public protest gave reformers an opportunity to push for laws and policies that would change the course of our history.

The man who became the leader of the nascent conservation movement was President Theodore Roosevelt. As a young rancher in what is now North Dakota, Roosevelt had learned what happened when nature's iron laws were ignored. He was a natural born reformer, and when an assassination catapulted him into the White House in 1901, he was ready to lead a crusade for land policies that would alter the values and attitudes of the American people.

The president began by declaring in his first State of the Union address that resource issues were “the most vital internal problems of the United States.” A politician who wore his convictions on his sleeve, he spoke out against “the tyranny of mere wealth” and galvanized a cadre of young foresters by exclaiming, “I hate a man who skins the land.”

Roosevelt chose for his adviser on resource issues the dynamic thirty-six year old chief of the Division of Forestry in the Department of Agriculture, Gifford Pinchot. Pinchot had little power as the head of a tiny new bureau, but his vigorous ideas about land stewardship won him a preferred place at the new President's council table. Roosevelt's crusade needed a motto, a slogan, and Pinchot and his friends soon coined a word that expressed the bundle of ideas that the President was considering. Pinchot and his fellow forester Overton Price had been discussing the fact that government owned forests in British India were called *Conservancies*, and this resonant word was enlarged into the nouns *conservation* and *conservationist*.

Roosevelt and Pinchot had to confront an unsympathetic Congress, and they knew from the outset that to do so they must sell conservation to the American people as well. Roosevelt welcomed this challenge, for he was a superlative teacher and saw himself as the trustee of the nation's resources.

The policies and programs that Roosevelt and Pinchot implemented over the seven years of Roosevelt's Presidency focused on specific issues. They converted idle forest "reserves" into a functioning system of national forests to be managed by a corps of trained foresters. The President won over hostile Western congressmen by supporting a new federal program to build dams and homestead-style irrigation projects in arid parts of the West. He also issued orders that stopped extravagant giveaways of public resources and simultaneously challenged a balky Congress to enact laws that hydropower sites and mineral resources be developed only under federal licenses and leases.

His audacity was what made many of Theodore Roosevelt's landmark conservation achievements possible. In his second term he rewrote the rulebook on presidential power by placing his signature on sweeping Executive Orders and proclamations, rejecting his timid predecessors' "narrowly legalistic view" that the President could function only where a statute told him to, and he plumed the Constitution to find powers for himself. His glory was that he dared to use his pen to change the face of the country's landscape.

Before he left office, he had replaced a century old policy of land disposal with a new policy of setting land aside for conservation. As a result of decisions he made, the lands designated as national forests increased from 42 million acres to 148 million, and 138 new forest areas were created in twenty-one Western states. With additional strokes of his pen, he carved out four huge wildlife refuges and set up fifty-one smaller sanctuaries for birds, to protect what he called "the beautiful and wonderful wild creatures whose existence was threatened by greed and wantonness." With another flourish he established eighteen national monuments, including four—Grand Canyon, Olympic, Lassen Volcanic, and Petrified Forest—so majestic that Congress subsequently converted them into national parks.

Executive action was effective as far as it went, but it was essentially a policy to preserve some of the West's unsullied lands. If resources damaged during the raider years of the nineteenth century were to be renewed and rehabilitated, there would have to be a truly national approach, with a working partnership between the executive and legislative branches of government. Theodore Roosevelt was a splendid preacher-at-large, but few members of Congress were stirred by his rhetoric. Indeed, in the decade after he left office only two significant conservation statutes were passed: the Weeks Act of 1911, which permitted the purchase of forested land at the headwaters of navigable streams, to make possible national forests in the East, and the 1916 measure that created the National Park Service.

However, where conservation was concerned, Roosevelt's influence did not wane after he left Washington; instead it came to a culmination during his third-party Bull Moose presidential campaign in 1912, when he forced his two opponents to compete with him as advocates of reform. Some of the men who were destined to lead the nation in the crisis years of the Great Depression—most notably Harold Ickes, George Norris, Sam Rayburn, and Franklin Delano Roosevelt—first lit their political torches at the bonfire he created in the 1912 presidential election.

His words and deeds left a spacious legacy. The conservation creed he espoused altered the outlook and the values of many Americans, encouraging citizens to form grassroots organizations and influence local and regional political decisions. And the ideals he championed not only changed his country's land-stewardship practices but encouraged other nations to institute comparable programs.

Conservation fell out of favor during World War I and the 1920s. Existing national lands were better managed, but habitat for wildlife continued to shrink, wartime demands for wheat encouraged improvident plowing that would in time transform parts of the Great Plains into dust bowls, and little was done to restore the forestland gutted during the late nineteenth century.

The second wave of the conservation movement was launched when Franklin D. Roosevelt began his New Deal in the demoralizing depths of the Great Depression, when one of every four Americans was unemployed. Roosevelt's experiences as governor of New York had suggested to him that providing conservation jobs for

large numbers of young men would be an effective way to combat unemployment. In his acceptance speech at the 1932 Democratic National Convention, he put conservation in the forefront, announcing “a wide plan of converting many millions of acres of marginal and unused land into timberland through reforestation.”

The Civilian Conservation Corps (C.C.C.), created in the first weeks of his Presidency with nearly unanimous support from Congress, was probably the most effective of all New Deal Programs. The jobs it generated provided dollars for destitute families and gave men valuable skills, and the work itself improved the economic outlook in nearby communities. More land-renewal work went on during Franklin Roosevelt’s first term than at any other time in our nation’s history. Corpsmen build small dams, tackled soil erosion problems, planted more than two billion trees, and built everything from washrooms to grand rustic lodges in national parks. To make the program truly national and provide more jobs, the President extended the East’s new system of national forests, allocating more than thirty-seven million dollars (appropriated by Congress for “public works”) to purchase eleven million acres of wounded, cut-over land. Before the war closed the camps, more than two and a half million young men served in the C.C.C.

Historians overlook the fact that in certain regions the New Deal was at its core a program of resource conservation. Congress, acting in tandem with the President, enthusiastically financed initiatives that ranged from a new Soil Conservation Service to the acquisition of millions of acres of swamps, lakes, and sub-marginal farmlands, enlarging the nation’s sanctuaries for migratory birds and wildlife.

The building of dams and hydroelectric plants was also a hallmark of the era. Construction of the world’s then-highest dam on the Colorado River (a huge federal project that moved ahead on schedule through the darkest years of the Depression) reflected the belief that floods should be controlled and the high energy potential of the nation’s rivers “harnessed,” as the then ubiquitous expression went. Dam building was ultimately carried to extremes, but the electricity dams generated fed a program that produced enormous benefits for tens of millions of Americans, the Rural Electrification Administration, which began in 1935.

At the time, nine-tenths of the thirty million people who lived in rural America did not have electric power. The REA law underwrote the formation of local electric cooperatives and provided low-interest loans to extend transmission lines into the countryside. In a few years the program had raised the standard of living throughout the country and was furnishing cheap energy for starting businesses and enabling small towns to grow.

Of necessity, the FDR administration fashioned its Crash programs piecemeal, responding to specific needs, but in so doing, it made conservation a mainstream concept and encouraged scientists allied with the movement to broaden their gaze and think holistically (the word had appeared just a decade earlier) about the earth’s resources. Those quiet conservation-minded scientists, among them the University of Wisconsin professor Aldo Leopold and a young woman named Rachel Carson, who worked in the Fish and Wildlife Service from 1936 to 1949, became important after the war, when atomic physicists and engineers rose as apostles of unlimited resources. The voices of the conservationists, and the challenging questions they asked, would gradually acquire authority when some of the miracles of Big Science turned out to threaten the ecosystems that sustained life on earth.

Today it is hard to imagine how eagerly Americans in the 1950s accepted the “atoms for peace” thesis of inexhaustible dirt-cheap atomic energy. A vision of an atom-powered era of super technology, sketched initially by the physicist John Von Neumann, was elaborated in a 1957 book, *The Next Hundred Years*, by some of his acolytes in these words: “If we are able in the decades ahead to avoid thermo-nuclear war . . . we shall approach the time when the world will be completely industrialized. And as we continue along this path we shall process ores of continually lower grade, until we finally sustain ourselves with materials obtained from the rocks of the earth’s crust, the gases of the air, and the waters of the seas. By that time the mining industry as such . . . will have been replaced by vast, integrated multipurpose chemical plants supplied by rock, air, and seawater, from which will flow a multiplicity of products, ranging from fresh water to electric power, to liquid fuels and metals.”

The American people embraced these visions partly because the awe and secrecy that enveloped nuclear research meant that at first few citizens had either the knowledge or the temerity to question them. And the optimism thus generated ultimately helped persuade our leaders that the United States could simultaneously go to the moon, feed the world’s hungry, carry out a program to modernize the economies of Latin America, and

win a war in Southeast Asia. As the space program got under way, NASA's rocket master, Wernher von Braun, put a capstone on these promises when he declared that the exploration of space was "the salvation of the human race."

But at the same time, ground-level evidence was mounting that the overall environment was deteriorating. In 1956 an atmospheric scientist measured the ingredients of the gathering pall over Los Angeles and chose the word *smog* to describe his baleful discovery. Meanwhile, daily flushings from industries and cities were turning the nation's rivers into sewers. At one point in the mid-sixties, the mayor of Cleveland summed up a growing viewpoint when he predicted that the United States would soon become "the first nation to put a man on the moon while standing knee deep in garbage."

The first serious broad look at the impact of new technologies on the planet's life-support system began in the United States in 1958. It was conducted by the marine biologist Rachel Carson. The ostensible subject of her four-year study was the effect on wildlife of the potent new poisons being produced by the chemical industry; in the end her research led her to compose a treatise that thrust the concept of ecology into the mainstream of human thought.

In 1958 some of Carson's friends in Massachusetts and on Long Island, angry at local mosquito control agencies drenching their neighborhoods with DDT, persuaded her to write a protest article about the environmental consequences. Her piece was rejected by Readers Digest, but Carson had become convinced that this was an urgent issue and she decided to enlarge her piece into a short book, even though she doubted that it could ever be a best seller like her previous one, *The Sea Around Us*. Her initial survey informed her that the pesticide problem was hardly a local one, and she realized that her findings and conclusions would put her on a collision course with powerful industries and much of the scientific community. DDT, like penicillin, was widely considered a boon to humankind; public health officers credited it with wiping out malaria in many areas, and agricultural experts were attributing dramatic rises in the world food output to its effects. The Swiss biochemist Paul Muller had won a Noble Prize in 1948 for developing it.

During most of the four years Carson took to complete *Silent Spring*, she was fighting a losing battle against cancer. Her search for facts became a crusade as she scrutinized the work of specialists ("a small number of human beings, isolated and priestlike in their laboratories") who seemed so intent on controlling nature they had no time to analyze the side effects of the products they were creating. As she became aware that the book would be in essence an argument, she decided to address it to two distinct audiences at once. It must be an ecology primer that millions of ordinary readers could understand, but it also had to command the respect of the scientific community and force the chemical industry's scientists into a public dispute concerning the total environment.

She achieved her first goal by presenting detailed accounts of spraying fiascoes in places that ranged from Nova Scotia forests to the rice fields of California. This section of *Silent Spring* connected the new "age of poisons" and "natures web on interwoven lives" to the everyday existence of her readers. Her second task was more difficult and time-consuming. Knowing she would face fierce counterattacks, she concluded with a fifty-five-page appendix of "principal sources" that listed more than six hundred of the thousands of documents she had gathered and digested. The appendix was her way of saying to her critics: "Here is your substantiation. Tear it apart if you can."

As she had anticipated, chemical and agricultural trade groups mustered their scientists and mounted an expensive public relations campaign to discredit her credentials and her conclusions. Some critics asserted that she was not a "professional scientist"; a nutrition expert at Harvard's Medical School castigated her for "abandoning scientific truth for exaggeration" and characterized her conclusions as "baloney"; the director of research for a leading manufacturer of pesticides put her down as a "fanatical defender of natural balance."

There were other, cruder attacks: Ezra Taft Benson, who had been Secretary of Agriculture in the Eisenhower administration, wondered "why a spinster with no children was so concerned about genetics" and surmised that Carson was "probably a Communist." However, President Kennedy was impressed with her presentation and had his Science Advisory Committee evaluate her findings. The dispute dissipated when, in April 1963, the prestigious committee submitted a report that vindicated her thesis.

Silent Spring provided a cautionary frame of reference for the age; the book stands today as a founding document of the ecological revolution. Translated into twenty-seven languages, it won an international audience and, like Theodore Roosevelt's conservation initiatives, stimulated fresh currents of thought in other countries, it also fomented collaborative action by citizens and scientists that coalesced into a social phenomenon called "the environmental movement." In a single decade ecology was transformed from a science understood by an elite into a central concern of humankind.

Cancer claimed Rachel Carson's life in the spring of 1964. She did not live long enough to be aware that *Silent Spring* would rank as one of the most influential books of the century, but a laurel bestowed on her in 1963 by the American Academy of Arts and Letters must have given her some premonitory pride: It read: "A scientist in the grand literary style of Galileo and Buffon, she has used her scientific knowledge and moral feeling to deepen our consciousness of living nature and to alert us to the calamitous possibility that our short sighted technological conquests might destroy the very sources of our being."

I was in charge of the Department of the Interior when *Silent Spring* appeared, and I well remember the reverberations it sent through the organization. Our responsibilities for resources put us in the forefront of a movement that was fueled first by Carson's vision and then by the work of brilliant biologists like Paul Ehrlich, Barry Commoner, and E.O. Wilson. As we tried to confront the many challenges posed by the new age of ecology, our work led to, among other things, the program to protect endangered species and the end of backing for the American supersonic transport, with its sixty-mile carpet of sonic booms.

Only later, with hindsight, were many of us who had been caught up in the excitement of those times able to see them not as the dawn of a new way of looking at the world but rather as the final fruition of a conservation movement that had begun with the century. Indeed, the wise and always eloquent Aldo Leopold had provided a unifying theme decades earlier when he wrote: "We abuse land because we regard it as a commodity belonging to us. When we see land as a community to which we belong, we may begin to use it with love and respect."

Promised Land

By Todd Wilkinson, *National Parks*, September/October, 1999, pp. 23-25

The year was 1851. The place: a lecture hall in Concord, Massachusetts, just east of a forest-encircled pond called Walden.

As Henry David Thoreau stood before a room full of contemporaries and recited his now-immortal words—“in wildness is the preservation of the world”—he couldn’t have fathomed how strongly the declaration would resonate a century and a half later.

Thoreau’s poetic sentiments, describing a rare part of the landscape we know today as “wilderness,” has, at the end of the 20th century, become a rallying cry for park advocates who believe that Congress has failed to make crucial wilderness designations and the Park Service has floundered in managing the last, wild places under its care.

Wes Henry, a senior National Park Service (NPS) planner and wilderness management expert, argues that resolving the wilderness question is among the most important issues the agency currently faces. Today, he says, national parks are confronting encroaching development and the increasing intrusion of technology. On a daily basis, airplanes and helicopters buzz wilderness areas in the Grand Canyon previously reached only by foot and raft; cellular telephones ring on top of Mount Rainier; snowmobiles whine throughout Yellowstone’s winter wonderland; and chainsaws roar in isolated corners of parks as trail crews clear fallen trees from the paths of hiking trails.

The sad truth, Henry says, is that although many Park Service employees have the inclination, not many have the training, time, or resources to provide the special care that goes into preserving wild places and making the experience more available to visitors.

“In today’s world, wilderness and the ability to escape civilization” are among the most valuable commodities many parks can offer to the American public, Henry says. “Many people assume that as an agency renowned for preserving nature, the Park Service would be the leader in wilderness management among the land management agencies. Unfortunately, the crush of visitors and relatively stagnant budgets has meant that wilderness and other priorities have suffered neglect.”

But even now, Henry says, the Park Service has been given a chance to redeem itself—and the orders are coming from the top. With a new Clinton Administration initiative to reinvigorate appreciation for wilderness, the future of places such as Yellowstone, Rocky Mountain, Glacier, Great Smoky Mountains, Big Bend, and a dozen smaller parks is a little brighter. The plan, influenced heavily by the office of Vice President Al Gore and U.S. Secretary of the Interior Bruce Babbitt, begins to address the long unfinished national park wilderness agenda.

Wilderness is simply the recognition that the American public bestows on very special wild places, and these parks are surely some of the most special. A Wilderness Task Force made a series of recommendations in the early 1990s, and the Park Service is now beginning to take action. Recommendations included the restart of the designation process, better leadership, training, and educational outreach. NPS Director Robert Stanton will soon sign a wilderness management reference manual, training courses are being offered, and the education issue is being explored at the interagency level.

The reference manual advises park superintendents of their legal responsibility to protect lands already designated as federal wilderness and other tracts under consideration in Congress. More important, from an outside perspective the document serves as a *mea culpa*, confirming allegations leveled by NPCA and its partners that the Park Service has been ambivalent toward wilderness designation or resisted it. Perhaps in the most stinging indictment of all, some agency officials confess that the Park Service has demonstrated less leadership in wilderness preservation than the U.S. Forest Service.

Wilderness is a management touchstone for the Park Service because it serves as a gauge for the public to assess the character of lands inside parks, says David Simon, NPCA's Southwest regional director. "How we deal with the wilderness question in our national parks will determine what kind of experience our grandkids and great-grandkids inherit from us. It's that important," Simon says. "With wilderness, a whole set of values are brought forward, and they get at the very heart of why national parks were created."

Chip Dennerlein, NPCA's Alaska regional director and a member of a national steering committee for wilderness science issues, brought these issues to the fore this spring at a national conference in Missoula, Montana, where hundreds of activists converged to try and rekindle the wilderness movement, which historians say helped give rise to modern environmental awareness.

Thirty-five years ago this September, President Lyndon Johnson gathered conservationists together in Washington, D.C., and signed into law one of the most important landscape protection measures in the country's history—the Wilderness Act of 1964. This act created special land management zones within federal lands where highways, machines, and developments are forbidden, "where the earth and its community of life are untrammelled by man—where man himself is a visitor who does not remain."

Although the act is best known for setting aside millions of acres of "capital W" wilderness in national forests, its intent was also to safeguard the wildest sections of national parks. Over the past four decades, however, critics say NPS has maintained a detached, if not downright hostile, attitude toward proposed federally designated wilderness inside park borders.

The Clinton Administration plan, now before the Republican-controlled Congress, is intended to be a wake-up call for the Park Service by setting out first to resolve the fate of 5 million acres of proposed park wilderness lands that have languished in limbo since the Nixon Administration. Under the old proposals, more than 90 percent of Yellowstone's 2.2 million acres would receive formal wilderness designation, along with nearly 1 million acres in Glacier and roughly half a million acres each in Big Bend and Great Smoky Mountains. Other proposed sites are Arches, Bryce Canyon, Canyonlands, Capitol Reef, Crater Lake, Grand Teton, Zion, Assateague Island National Seashore, Cedar Breaks, Colorado, and Dinosaur national monuments, and Cumberland Gap National Historical Park. A similar call in 1996 went nowhere in Congress. NPCA believes some of these proposals need to be updated to add more acreage. Moreover, some parks are not being advanced, such as Grand Canyon, which has 1.1 million acres of recommended wilderness. Why has the Park Service resisted wilderness protection efforts? Park Service historian Richard West Sellars, author of *Preserving Nature in the National Parks*, suggests that agency leaders have not wanted to be hamstrung by regulations that might hinder development and management options.

Nothing illustrates the clash of values better than the Park Service's modernization program, Mission 66, and the public groundswell that led to the Wilderness Act in 1964. Mission 66, conceived during the 1950s, had the stated goal of repairing park facilities (hotels, visitor centers, nature trails, etc.) that had fallen into disrepair. Initially, the program received praise, but conservationists soon concluded that Mission 66 was compromising natural values by expanding the footprint of development and asphalt.

In a telling admission, the 1994 Park Service Wilderness Task Force Report refers to this conflict: "The amount and degree of park development throughout the decades of the 1930s, 1940s, and 1950s caused a growing concern in the environmental community, and among many NPS staff, that the National park Service was placing too much emphasis on development and not enough on the preservation of pristine lands."

NPCA's Chip Dennerlein says that the Park Service's antipathy for wilderness owes as much to the organizational culture as to economic incentives. The Mission 66 goals took priority over wilderness, and those sympathies have lingered to this day.

As of December 1998, 44 NPS units contain 43.1 million acres of wilderness—the vast majority of it in Alaska. Another 7 million acres have been set aside as wilderness study areas. Once wilderness is designated, the challenge of management begins. For example, only 12 percent of the national parks have wilderness or backcountry plans, and most of those are at least a decade old, observes Henry. With the Clinton Administration

plan aimed at settling the bulk of lands in wilderness study areas, several management issues for wilderness remain unresolved, such as:

- How does the Park Service handle changes in technology, which is outstripping the ability of land management agencies to deal with it? Many of these issues involve noise and whether certain motorized uses should be allowed in wilderness areas, such as personal watercraft, aerial overflights, and snowmobiles. In parks such as Yellowstone, where noise from snowmobiles carries over many miles, wilderness could also mean restrictions on the type of snowmobiles allowed. Another question involves whether cellular phones should be allowed in wilderness areas. Other issues include what role, if any, the Park Service should play in consulting with county governments to zone areas next to parks and whether it is better to have concentrated or dispersed campsites in wilderness.
- How will the Park Service manage forests inside designated wilderness? Ecologists acknowledge that in some parks, controlled burns, possible in combination with mechanized tree cutting, are needed to reduce the possibility of giant forest fires in dry years and to enhance biological diversity. Further, questions exist about who holds jurisdiction over water that originates in wilderness and what limitations should be imposed on above-ground development to protect fragile park cave wilderness systems.
- How does the Park Service apply the “minimum requirements” provision of the Wilderness Act, which requires land managers to use the least-intrusive tools necessary to maintain wilderness areas? The Park Service has been lax in its interpretation of the provision. For years, the Forest Service has been recognized as a pioneer in perfecting “minimum requirements,” and Park Service officials admit they can learn a lot from their sister agency.

In some parks, superintendents have ignored wilderness requirements and have allowed vehicles to cross virgin landscapes. Some superintendents also have invoked the Americans with Disabilities Act to ask that paved trails be constructed into existing wilderness, which has touched off fierce debate.

Simon and Dennerlein are adamant in their belief that wilderness designation is an important means available to the public for protecting parks against unthinking park managers. Because the Park Service in some ways still functions like a military organization, the tenure of individual park superintendents at any one location lasts only a few years. But during his or her brief stint, a superintendent may approve a number of proposals designed to economically aid the local community or the regional tourism industry. While the projects might seem small individually, they add up.

“How can they or outside interests appreciate that this is tantamount to a slow nibbling away of resources that make the area valuable as a park and attractive for recreation and tourism—a competitive event here, a recreation support facility there, and you slowly erode the wildness,” says Henry. “You can’t see it from one decision to the next, but cumulatively, the wilderness is lost—despite the best of intentions.”

Simon maintains that wilderness status actually makes a land manager’s job easier. “For park managers who have neither the resolve nor the backbone to stand up against proposals that compromise the character of the parks they oversee, wilderness designation helps them say no,” Simon says. “Instead of exposing parks to constant aesthetic and ecological erosion, wilderness can help the public hold the agency to a higher standard.”

Superintendents at Yosemite, where 677,000 acres lie in wilderness, North Cascades, which has 634,000 acres, and Mount Rainier, which has 228,000 acres, have been able to reject proposals for hotels and ski areas. Had official wilderness been in place in Yellowstone 20 years ago, snowmobiling could have been prohibited or tightly regulated. Instead, today 100,000 snowmobilers enter the park each year.

But conservationists warn that the transformation must have strategic objectives in mind—objectives that yield ecological benefits in addition to the obvious gains of protecting scenery. Some are concerned that politicians such as Rep. James Hansen (R-Utah) may use the national park wilderness proposal to cut a deal to reduce the amount of acreage in national forest and Bureau of Land Management tracts proposed for wilderness designated in his home state. And others may use a park wilderness bill as a vehicle for anti-environmental attachments.

At present, several park gateway communities have expressed open hostility to wilderness designation because they fear it will hamper the flow of tourism dollars. In February 1999, business leaders in Estes Park, Colorado, on the edge of Rocky Mountain National Park, refused to endorse proposed wilderness (even though since 1973 an estimated 95 percent of the park has been managed to the high wilderness standard as the park's wilderness proposal remained in limbo).

Ray Rasker, an economist with the Sonoran Institute, notes that numerous studies suggest access to wilderness is an economic boon for towns because it provides an incentive for people to live in and visit the area. Echoing that appraisal, the editors of the local Estes Park newspaper wrote in a banner headline that was aimed at detractors: "Rocky Mountain National Park deserves its wilderness" and added in the text of the editorial: "It's time to bury the political hatchet and move ahead with official wilderness. If not Rocky Mountain National Park, then where? If not now, then when?"

Some park superintendents have asserted that certain areas of proposed wilderness should be disqualified because they are compromised by urban settings or sit among existing developments. During the 1970s, the Forest Service used a similar argument in seeking to have national forests exempted. But in 1978 when Congress passed the Endangered Wilderness Act, it said that even sights and sounds of civilization cannot be used to eliminate stretches of federal land from wilderness consideration.

Wilderness that is proposed for parks on the outskirts of cities serves a valuable purpose, says Henry, for it provides urban dwellers with easy access to an unspoiled landscape.

"We are faced with the increasing reality and challenge of managing wildernesses, not in the sense of different places, but more important, in the sense of different types of wilderness," suggests NPCA's Dennerlein.

In general, Dennerlein concludes: "Wilderness is about sharing the delight of aboriginal Americans when they camped at the edge of a cliff thousands of years ago and were inspired by the view. It is about gaining a sense of humility in the face of nature; it is about putting certain pieces of the landscape off limits to any human temptation to exploit or despoil them; it is about thinking ahead and viewing the glory of the land in spans longer than your own life.

"In the modern world, that's difficult for many to grasp. Wilderness is not convenient, but the values of wilderness are as important to our human condition—present and future—as they were when the Wilderness Act was passed. Perhaps, more so."